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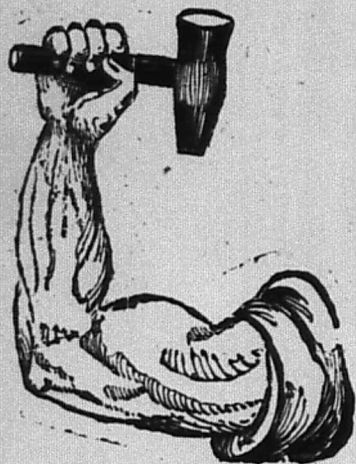
People.

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FOR THE 100,000.

Where the Hammer Struck its Blows last Week.

Rhode Island.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., April 10.—The feature of elections in this State for Governor last week was the growth of the Socialist Labor party vote. Last spring the party polled for Governor 1,386 votes; this year the S. L. P. candidate, James Reid, of the textile workers, polled 3,971—more than double.

In several towns the S. L. P. poll was a stunner. In Woonsocket, for instance, the party had last year 37 votes, now it rolled up 248. In the Third district of the Third ward of Providence, the S. L. P. vote was larger than either the Republican or Democratic. In Cumberland the vote was 133, in Lincoln 150, and in Central Falls 264.

This result was the fruit of the aggressive campaign of the Rhode Island Socialists. True to the party tactics, they carried on an uncompromising agitation against capitalism and its labor fakir outposts. The New Trade Unionist spirit seized the workingmen. The speeches, literature, etc., were all of the clear-cut, uncompromising nature that draws the line sharp between the honest class-consciousness and humbug. Enlightenment was accordingly possible on a large scale.

Comrade Sanial, himself nationally a representative of the party's aggressive policy and of its stand on the question of trade unionism, stumped the State during the last week of the campaign, and in that way rounded up the work that the local comrades had done.

If our sister States do as well, the 100,000 S. L. P. votes are assured in this year of 1898.

That the Socialist movement has become a factor in Rhode Island is clearly demonstrated by the following incidents: In all former elections the daily papers have given a full and detailed account of the vote of each party in the field—Socialist, Prohibition, Republican, Democrat, and Populist—in this election the capitalists through the press which they own have manifested the terror engendered in them, by the sight of the gathering of the workers under the banner of their own class interests, by not daring to publish the election returns; they confined the election report to the Democratic and Republican counts.

This is a move which Socialists recognize as one of the landmarks indicating substantial progress; it shows the power of a movement when it can compel the enemy from manifestations of affected indifference to manifestation of genuine fear.

The other incident carries with it not only an indication of increasing strength but also a lesson in practical politics. There is a strike in progress, which has already lasted three months, at the Wanskuck Mills, situated in the Third district of the Third ward of this city; the weavers in those mills are struggling against oppressive conditions—of course, the usual experience has been acquired during that time. The powers of the capitalists' government have been fully exerted in order to defeat the striking weavers; squads of police have patrolled the district during all the period of the strike, preventing the committees from approaching those whom the mill management had induced to come from other towns upon misleading statements, bullying, hustling and jostling the strikers, whilst permitting full license to the scabs. It has so happened that the Third district of the Third ward, benefiting by the lesson presented to them, turned out on Election Day and intelligently extended their strike to the ballot box, with the result that the Socialist Labor party polled more votes than either Democrats or Republicans in that district. The next morning the POLICE WERE WITHDRAWN FROM THAT DISTRICT, thus emphasizing the Socialist position by showing clearly that whatsoever amelioration the workers receive from the capitalists must be wrenched from them by fear. The capitalists will lessen the pressure on the workers, they will throw them sop after sop in the attempt to turn the workers from their growing determination to secure to themselves the whole of that which they produce.

We have not much time to spend in jubilation over the fact that we have succeeded in more than doubling our vote; we stop long enough to register our advance, and to send the shout along the line that the enemy's ranks are breaking. We call upon our comrades throughout the country to emulate the example of Little Rhody, to push the agitation vigorously and aggressively so that this year of 1898 may mark an epoch in the growth of the revolution in the United States.

For our part, we have no intention of resting on our arms, but will bend our efforts to strengthening the position we have conquered; and by pushing our advance guard still further into the territory of economic superstitions we will hurl into the teeth of our exploiters the challenge: Capitalism, we owe you a tremendous debt, on April 3 we gave you an earnest of our determination to settle, but that is only to commence with—we will meet you again at Philippi in the fall!

Iowa.

DAVENPORT, April 8.—H. C. F. Jensen, the Socialist Labor party candidate for Mayor, polled this week at our municipal elections, 368 votes. This is an increase of 116 votes over last year.

Illinois.

CHICAGO, April 9.—At our municipal elections this week, the S. L. P. ticket got 1,986 votes; last year, 1,266.

Wisconsin.

MILWAUKEE, April 8.—Our municipal election is over. We were to be wiped out. At the last municipal contest, in 1896, we had 344 votes. This year we polled 518.

But this does not tell all the tale. The so-called Social Democracy, made up here of the identical set of political adventurers and pirates, Victor Berger and Paul Grotkau among them, who have manned every fake labor or reform party for the last ten years and more, set up their banners here, and put up a ticket, claiming it to be the labor ticket. It will be remembered that right after the ship of this Social Democracy was launched in Chicago, Mr. Debs wrote to a friend that he would start active work in Milwaukee, and that from there the new political party was to spread in all directions. "Watch her go," he said. Well, she has gone. Despite all the funds it got from the Republican party, despite all the booming it received from the Republican press, she went down.

In the spring of 1896 the People's party candidate for Mayor, Smith, polled 9,121 votes. The same managers, the same machine, the same methods, aided this year by Mr. Debs under the banner of Social Democracy, only got 2,400—dropped to nearly one-quarter of its strength two years ago. In view of this our growth, small though it be in these two years, is all the more significant.

The Republicans were badly beaten and are disgusted with their stoop-pigeon Social Democrats; while these are just now runny to behold. They look cheap. For a hurrah party like theirs, a large vote is necessary to keep them in countenance. When, as it happened, the vote is small not only, but falls so much below that of the last fake reform party, Milwaukee wing of the S. D. of America and Patagonia, must necessarily look cheap. To keep up courage and brass it needed at least 10,000—not one vote less than that of their predecessors, the Pops, at the last municipal election. It expected 25,000 and 40,000 when it started. The smallness of its meetings and the vigor of our agitation forecast the result. Our vote of 500 and odd is one to build on; the shrunken S. D. vote represents quicksands. To Milwaukee fell the glory of puncturing the S. D. bubble.

It should be added that very many of the votes polled by the S. D. were meant for us. As the Republicans gave the S. D. an official column, while our ticket could not yet bear a name on the ballot, many were deceived and voted S. D., meaning to vote for the S. L. P. They now know better.

WAUSAU, April 10.—Brand, S. L. P. candidate for Mayor, polled here 76 votes; Matchett last year, 26.

Ohio.

CLEVELAND, April 11.—The S. L. P. municipal ticket received here last week 1,200; last spring it was 900.

Abroad.

On the 5th instant, the Socialist Labor party won a great victory in Denmark. At the elections for the Folkething (National Parliament) 12 seats were won by the Socialists. At the last elections, that took place in April, 1895, the Socialists captured 8 seats; thus there is a gain of 4. The total vote polled by the Socialist Labor party is 25,013.

New Jersey.

As we go to press, there are no accurate reports from the New Jersey municipal elections. In Paterson Comrade Maguire was defeated by a combination of the capitalist parties.

On Sunday, the 24th instant, at 2 p. m., there will be a debate in this city, hall not yet fixed, between the two national organizations of shoemakers: the General Council of Shoemakers, affiliated with the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, and the Boot & Shoeworkers' Union, affiliated with Gompers' A. F. of L.

D. M. Reardon, location unknown, has contributed \$250 to the Hinton-Debs Colonization Bureau.

It was the late lamented P. T. Barnum, we believe, who uttered the profound maxim that: "There is a sucker born every minute."

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire," that recently ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. This work is of great value. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. Y. city. Price 25 cents.

ABNEGATION.

"Captains of Industry" Ready to Sacrifice other People's Property.

When, during the Civil War, Artemus Ward declared that his patriotism boiled so hard as to make him willing, "without any compunction whatsoever," to send all his wife's relatives to the war, the saying was applauded as a good joke. A good joke it has since been considered, and has been repeated as such. Artemus, though, meant no joke; he meant a slashing bit of satire. "Patriotism" ran high during the Civil War. But its source did not escape Artemus. The cant was peered through by him. He saw that what it amounted to, in nine cases out of ten, was a great anxiety to have a war going on at a goodly distance from the "patriot," fought by others than himself, and affording him ample opportunity to "do business" at home, and grow rich upon the war and the bloodshed it cost to others. To be willing to send one's wife's relatives to the war was a pungent satire that summed up much of the "patriotism" of the "patriots," and withal gave an insight into their false pretences.

The excellence of satire upon character, whether of men or classes, is its application under various conditions. The Civil War rolled by; the turbulent days of reconstruction came and passed; the generation of then died and was buried, and a new generation of "patriots" now is "doing business." The times and the actors changed, but how completely the species remains was illustrated last week when a meeting of patriots took place in the Stock Exchange, and one of them, expressing the opinion of all, said:

"The business men of New York cannot with justice be said to be disrespectful of the national honor, or dead to the sense of patriotism. They want peace, if peace can be had honorably; but I know their patriotism too well to doubt that they would say 'war' if war is needed. I declare without any hesitation whatever that the business men of New York are ready to place for war purposes at the disposal of the government, and at twenty hours' notice, \$500,000,000—of other people's money."

In their effort to justify the stealings of the capitalist class, their political economists have had to spin many a yarn. One of these yarns is that the profits of the capitalist are the premium on the risks he takes. Inquiry reveals the falseness of the pretence. The capitalist gambles, not with his own, but with other people's money. Fraudulent failures have become so well established an institution among the capitalist fraternity that the point is no longer open to discussion. It is not his own that the capitalist "risks"; it is other people's. Thus, when the prancing patriot of the Stock Exchange declared that his class was, at this juncture where a foreign war was threatened, ready to place at the Government's disposal \$500,000,000, he simply translated into the vernacular the sentiments of his class during the Civil War, as expressed by Artemus Ward, that it was self-sacrificingly ready to send all its wife's relatives to the front.

Bold, brave, self-sacrificing—patriotic capitalist!

Among the "Socialists" who declare the S. L. P. is "too narrow," and who are regularly starting reform movements against the Tammany tiger, is one Moses Oppenheimer. Years ago he was expelled from the party in Germany for crookedness; now he has a political job from Tammany—fourth auditor of accounts, in the Borough of Manhattan, with \$2,750 a year salary.

The numerous calls that have come in for the New Bedford speech "What Means This Strike?" published in these columns a few weeks ago, has determined the National Executive Committee to reprint it in pamphlet form. It can be had at the Labor News Company, 64 E. 4th street, this city. Single copies, 5 cents; 10 copies, 30 cents; 50 copies, \$1.25; 100 copies, \$2.50.

The Wendell Phillips Society.

The above Agitation Society, composed of young men, meeting at 49 Henry street, New York, has just issued its programme of lectures for the next two months. It is as follows: April 28—"The Aim of the S. L. P." Jas. Hunter. May 12—"The Young Man in Politics." C. B. Copp. May 26—"Militant Socialism." L. Sanial. June 9—"Current History." Dr. Girsandsky.

A PITIFUL WAIL.

Condition and Prospects of the Glass Bottle Blowers Trade.

A letter, dated Muncie, Ind., March 4, 1898, and addressed to the officers and members of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada by the Association's President, D. A. Hayes, is chokeful of points upon the industrial situation and the present mental condition of large bodies of wage earners in the land.

First, as to the DEVELOPMENT OF MACHINERY, the letter makes these statements on the glass bottle-blowers' trade:

"Developments in jar making machinery have reached that point where there can be little doubt of its effect upon our Association in the very near future; and our craft, like all others, which are well paid and requiring skill, is now about to experience the effects of labor-saving machinery. This fact was suddenly brought to the notice of forty-six of our members, who on February 26 were dismissed from work at Ball Bros. for no cause whatever beyond that capital has found a cheaper method of producing fruit jars. . . . I saw the machines in operation last week and consider them simply marvelous. There has been great improvement made since last October, and from what I saw this time, I feel safe in stating to the trade that there is no question about their success, and it seems to me that from this time forth jar-making machinery will increase. . . . The average day's work of these machines is two hundred and thirty-five dozen in a day of nine hours. They have turned out as many as two hundred and ninety dozen quarts. They average about three hundred and twenty-five dozen pints. Among the machines to be operated will be some half gallons, which owing to the increasing improvements made in these machines, may be made as successfully as the quarts."

Secondly, as to the EFFECT OF SUCH MACHINERY UPON THE WORKERS,

the letter makes these observations:

"The use of the machinery makes it possible for the firm to produce jars for less than one-third of the present cost of their production. The machines have not yet reached that stage of perfection where the pressers are willing to accept piece work; they are being paid by the day, but when they are put on piece-work, according to the scale which they have signed, pint jars will be made for twelve-and-a-half cents per hundred; half gallons, eighteen cents per hundred. This means that they will be made for about one, two and three cents a dozen. The machine, with one presser and gatherer, displaces three blowers, also the chippers and grinders."

A third set of facts, together with the reasoning thereon, turns upon THE RELATIONS OF THE WORKING AND THE CAPITALIST CLASSES, and almost make one feel sure that President Hayes will, before he reaches the end of his letter, arrive at right conclusions. He says:

"It tells much of the story in cases of this kind where Labor has made men powerful and prosperous, yet the moment some means of cheaper production and more profit can be secured, the workingman is cast aside like a worn-out garment, and the only reason offered is that of 'progress' and the desire to cheapen things for the community. This is the stock argument which often serves only to embitter the distress felt by those thrown into idleness. It is also a great argument in favor of competition that machinery reduces the price of commodities."

Having thus denoted what would seem a pretty clear inkling of what the relations are between the capitalist class and the working class, the premises for conclusions that cannot fail to be correct seem to be completed by a passage on

PURE AND SIMPLE TRADE UNION EDUCATION,

which runs as follows:

"The machines are now being operated by pressers of the Flint Association, who naturally claim that all in the pressed ware line belongs to their craft, and that none but men of the press department in the Flint trade should be allowed to work these presses. . . . This emphasizes the narrowness of craft prejudice and trade union jealousy. The situation here has some very interesting aspects, which have no parallel in our history, nor probably in that of any other trade. One class of skilled workmen, with the aid of machinery, displace members of a sister organization."

Here, then, we have a full and complete admission of existing facts and relations: Machinery of marvelous nature turning up to do work that formerly skilled labor only could perform; labor displaced thereby; in the struggle for existence, a sister trade union taking the places of men of the other union; and finally the capitalist, the owner (not the inventor or producer of the

machine), after being made prosperous by the workers, and wanting still more prosperity, introduces a machine by which his workers are "cast off as a worn-out garment."

Can these facts lead to any other but the following

RIGHT CONCLUSIONS:

"These machines are a means of progress. They are so because the useful things, the wealth, they produce become more abundant. But does the working class derive any advantage from, does it share in this blessing of increased good things? No. Why not? Because under this capitalist system of private ownership of the means of production, the share that the worker gets of his own product is simply the price of his labor; the more plentiful things are made by the machine the cheaper they become, thereby the price of labor itself becomes cheaper too. The machine displaces labor, and that lowers the price of Labor still more because the supply becomes larger than the demand. The capitalist class has an interest in getting as much wealth produced as possible; it will therefore invest in machinery. The displacement of labor as well as the increased cheapness of goods will thus steadily reduce the share of the worker. All this happens simply because that capitalist holds the instrument of production. If Labor held it, Labor would produce for use and not for profit, and thus it would derive the full benefit of all that it produces, and the more machinery, the more would Labor have. The evils now suffered must therefore be redressed by the public ownership of the machine. The public ownership of the machine must be wrung from the 'whole capitalist class; this can not be done by any one trade. All must combine. A common purpose will remove the jealousies that now keep trades apart and working against one another. A thorough union of the working class, thorough because grounded on sound principles, will bring their deliverance, and that deliverance must come through the conquest of the public powers upon a class-conscious program of the workers. This is double if undertaken with vigor, and after dropping all illusions of the past upon the 'promises of the employer,' or the 'prospects of good times' for the working class while this capitalist system lasts. God helps those who help themselves."

It can not be said that the letter of President D. A. Hayes, of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, reaches this conclusion. Here and there, that part of his letter that contains the conclusions which he draws displays a flash of sense. He concludes, for instance that:

"Trade unions, as at present constituted, can never overcome successfully the worst effects of labor-displacing machinery. . . . There must be a broadening out among the ranks of labor. . . . The men we elect to make laws are the men who know least about the wants of labor and care less about the circumstances of our lives;" etc., etc.

Nevertheless, the expectation expressed in other parts of the letter that the employer will not desert their employees in the position these are at present in, and that the promises made by these are "true" and "humane expressions," etc., reveal the fact that President D. A. Hayes has not yet cut in twain the navel-string that connects his mind with the old "pure and simple" or British trade union form of thought. While this connection lasts, experience has taught, that all lessons, bitter though they may be, are lost upon the workers. That this is unfortunately the case in this instance may be judged from the sad notes with which the letter closes.

Let the leaders who have seen the facts as clearly as President Hayes has, pick themselves up, shake off their former "pure and simple" superstitions, manfully grapple with the problem, energetically throw themselves into the New Trade Unionist or Alliance movement, raise the flag of the class-conscious demands of the working class, join the international Socialist Labor party movement, and work unflinchingly to help raise his fellow proletarians to his own level.

In that sign we can win; in all others we shall be dumped in the future as in the past.

Important to Comrades.

The Bohemian Comrades of Greater New York have decided to start on next May 1 a bona fide Socialist paper in the Bohemian language. This is an important step. The proletariat of Bohemian birth in this city has been trampled upon by a corrupt paper called "Hlas Lidu," that, bearing the mask of labor, has regularly sold out to labor's foes of all degrees. The sum of \$300 is needed to start the paper, and 1,000 subscribers will keep it alive. Its birth and continued existence will be of incalculable benefit to our great cause. Comrades everywhere are requested to aid in this work; where there are Bohemians they should be induced to subscribe. The paper will be named "Pravda" (Truth).

Send contributions and subscriptions to Jaroslav Simon, 308 East 71st street, New York.

Syracuse, N. Y.

THE PEOPLE always for sale at M. Lem's, 476 S. Salina street, Syracuse, N. Y.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

PROFIT-SHARING.

Explodes in Dolgeville, N. Y., and Exposes the Swindle.

The Alfred Dolge & Son concern at Dolgeville has landed in the hands of the receivers. A retrospect of this concern by the light of this receivership is instructive.

The last time mention was made of Alfred Dolge & Son in these columns it was to record a tragedy, one of the many brought on by Dolge-and-Sonism. An employe, driven by despair and disappointment, deceived, duped and helpless through the machinations of the concern, agreed with his wife to kill their three children and then commit suicide, as the surest way to escape Dolge-and-Sonism; and they did.

Notorious, though, as this concern has become through the tragedies it occasioned, it has become more noted for a patent solution of the labor problem which it affected to set in practice. The tragedies were hushed by the papers; the "solution," however, was broadly advertised, and every pod-snap in the land, "pointed with pride" to Dolge & Son as the solvers of the Labor problem. The "solution" was "profit-sharing," or rather, what "profit-sharing" always amounts to and runs into, the false pretence of "profit-sharing."

Profit-sharing is a "solution" of the Labor problem that admits Socialist conclusions, but shuts its eyes to Socialist premises. The Socialist conclusion is that the workingman must not be considered as one of the raw materials that go to make up mercantile; bare-faced capitalism answers that the workingman is nothing else; "profit-sharing," says the Socialists are right, and it makes the workingman a partner in the concern by allowing him a share in the profits. But the Socialist premises are that the present merchandise quality of the workingman results from his proletarian quality, that is to say, from the fact that he does not own the machinery of production that he needs to work with. To this fact "profit-sharing" shuts its eyes; ignores it; and thereby it ranges itself squarely with the brazen capitalist, who denies our conclusions. By ignoring the premises of Socialism "profit-sharing" keeps alive the cause of the merchandise quality or wage slavery system of the workingman, and, consequently, it is no solution whatever, it only covers up the sore.

As a result of this we find in all the "profit-sharing" concerns that the worker is driven harder, and that, having no say in the management of the concern or the disposition of the profits, his "share" is held dependent upon the will of the employer, who may or may not withhold it, who may speculate it away, who may lose it.

The failure of Alfred Dolge & Son illustrates this point. On the books of the firm the employes are credited with \$100,000 as their "share" in various ways and subject to various conditions. That looks quite fine. But where is that \$100,000 now? Whatever became of it? Swallowed up in the firm's liabilities.

And how did the firm come to fail?—Through extensive but ruinous speculations in land and endorsements of notes.

Did the firm go into such operations with the consent of the employes whose "shares" he was thus using or placing at stake?—No! And what is more, had they objected, they would have been discharged as impudent, and driven to suicide as so many others.

Or, had the firm of Dolge succeeded in its real estate and banking ventures that involved the "shares" of its employes; had it made large sums on that, would it have divided the profits thereon among the men with whose "shares" the ventures and speculations were undertaken?—No, again. And what is more, had any of the employes entitled to "shares" demanded their share of these ventures, undertaken with "their property," their discharge, on the ground of insubordination, would have followed quick as a flash.

To-day the Dolge & Son employes are out in the cold,—the same as those of any other capitalist concern. The firm failed, and the men are out of work,—just the same as if there had been no "profit-sharing"; and just the same as any other capitalist concern's men, loss of work means immediate privation.

No plaster, patent medicine, or the like can avail the present social disease. The root of the evil lies in the fact that the workers do not own their weapon of production; not owning it, they are voiceless in the shop administration; it avails nothing what nominal good things they may have; the employer, being voiceful, as the sole owner of the weapon of production, can do as he pleases; the good things remain in his hands, subject to his good will or his good business judgment.

There is but one thing to do, to place in the hands of the working class the tools of production; all else is humbug and waste of time.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1883 (Presidential)	2,066
In 1890	12,331
In 1897 (Presidential)	13,157
In 1904	33,133
In 1908 (Presidential)	36,564
In 1912	55,673

All combined labor on a large scale requires more or less directing authority in order to secure the harmonious working of the individual activities, and to perform the general functions that have their origin in the action of the combined organs, as distinguished from the action of its separate organs. A single violin player is his own conductor; an orchestra requires a separate one.

Marx.

THAT MESSAGE.

The long expected McKinley message to Congress has been sent; by this time it has been thoroughly read and digested, not on this side of the two oceans only, but on the other sides, too. And well it may. The message is indeed significant.

The significance of the document does not lie in its uttering anything new; its significance lies in its attesting the thorough-going change of base that our Government has undergone.

Time was when, still breathing the revolutionary atmosphere, our Government, quite truly representing the aspirations entertained by the class that made the country free, followed the star of "Independence" and the spirit of "Republic" as guides that were essential to freedom. In those days was born the "Monroe Doctrine," so-called, or the doctrine defiantly hurled at the Russian representative of the so-called "Holy Alliance," that "the monarchy may be the doctrine of Europe, but the republic is the doctrine of America." Animated by such principles, the Government of the United States was of the first to recognize the South American republics, and this idea continued with such vigor, even as late as the early seventies, that it was carried by our Government into practice even in Europe; and when a republican form of government set itself up in France, and later in Spain, ours was the first to recognize them—regardless of all consideration whether the monarchy could or could not reassert itself in those countries.

This spirit has, however, been waning and another rising. Truly reflecting the material requirements of the home capitalist class, our Government and governing class has been looking with more and more favor upon monarchical institutions; they afford greater security to a brigand class in power. How far this spirit has developed, the Presidential message attests; and that is the real significance.

No Socialist is blind to the fact that slavery, that worst of slaveries, wage slavery, can bloom, if anything, better in a republic than a monarchy. Socialists do not, accordingly, lose their balance over the term "republican freedom"; they know that the republican form of government can be a form that makes for freedom only when the industrial basis of society is the collective ownership of the machinery of production. The promise of a republic in Cuba, held out by the capitalist interests back of the revolution, never deceived the Socialists into enthusiasm; it can not, therefore, be that President McKinley's attitude against the republic, as clearly denoted in his message, which contemplates the continued dependence of the island, should cause sadness.

What the President's message does cause is surprise at the thoroughness of the revolution that the capitalist mind has undergone, a thoroughness that no longer balks at its own shadow.

For the first time in our history, the country's Chief Executive steps forth with the pronounced intention of preventing a republic from rising on the ruins of a colonial system, and of continuing on this side of the waters a European domination!

It cannot be denied that such a policy is wise—from the capitalist standpoint.

Republics are born amidst the convulsions of revolutions, and no revolution is so violent as that that gives birth to a capitalist republic. A time comes, however, when even the remembrance of those revolutionary days becomes dangerous to the republic; they suggest revolution to the proletariat or working class. When that time comes the "republic" has rounded the circle, it clings to quiet, and it shrinks from the very mention of the word revolution. The prospect of the birth of a new republic, especially at the very doors of the old one, is not calculated to please the latter.

President McKinley's suggestion to the Congress of the United States, that he be empowered to step across the path of war in Cuba, and prevent there the

birth of the Cuban republic, is legitimate and wise. The capitalist republic of the United States has wholly worn out its revolutionary antecedents, and has entered upon the period of reaction.

WHAT NOW, BAKERS?

The columns of the "Bakers' Journal," organ of the International Bakers' Union, contains in its last issues matter that suggests the above question.

It is now about seven years ago that Mr. Heinrich Weissmann turned up in this city from California. He came as a baker, a profession he had "learned" in jail while serving a term for a fiendish dynamite conspiracy. From the time he arrived here until the date of the exposures of him in the journal of his own union, he was as busy as the Shakespearean "rat without a tail" in doing all the mischief possible to the Socialist Labor party and to the New Trade Unionist movement. In this work he was aided by the office he received of editor of the "Bakers' Journal." His pretence was that the Socialist movement, etc., was harmful to the working class, that the Socialists were corrupt, etc.; and his supporters during this whole fight were the labor corruptionists Gompers, Kurzenknebe and Pomeroy.

The struggle was intense. Weissmann got the worst of it in two ways: The bakers' organization dwindled down in his hands, while independent bodies of the trade sprang up, and the Socialist movement increased. During the whole of the contest the International Union of Bakers upheld Weissmann. It shut its eyes to the array of facts and arguments presented by the Socialists, and to the still more tangible evidence of the union's collapse. In the meantime Weissmann prospered. From having nothing, he became a baker boss himself; he was found regularly as the "representative" of labor on the platforms of fake reform, capitalist organizations, on lobbying committees, etc., and from year to year his funds grew larger, until he no longer needed the bakers. When he reached that point the scales dropped from the eyes of his dupes. To-day the "Bakers' Journal" tells of his "falsehoods," his "tricks," his "frauds," his "political intrigues, harmful to the union," the futility and even harmfulness of his alleged "labor legislation in favor of the bakers," etc., etc. To-day the organ of the bakers confirms all that THE PEOPLE has along been saying, and adds a lot more.

What now, bakers?

To say that what happened to the International Bakers' Union may happen to any organization of labor; that it is a case of misfortune owing to the individual depravity of a member, will not hold. Rascals, frauds and swindlers may get into any organization, but no organization can become the dupe of such unless such organization is so constituted as to invite and give a chance to such fellows. The cholera microbe can enter any body; but it can thrive upon and kill only such bodies whose stomachs have lost their healthy digestive powers. The Weissmann cholera microbe entered the Socialist body of the Central Labor Federation, but there the microbe had no show; the stomach of that body ground the disease down and secreted it in all safety. That the International Bakers' Union is in its present low state of health is, accordingly, not the fault of the Weissmann microbe alone, the International Union itself bears part of the blame.

Let Weissmann be cut out, and off, and branded—what of it? Will the International Union be any safer? No. As constituted, the reappearance of another Weissmann sooner or later is certain; in fact, his reappearance is invited.

The union that does not come out plainly on the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance platform is a union whose stomach is incapable of casting off the labor fakir microbe before it has done mischief. Only the principles and tactics of the S. T. & L. A. can give security against such ills. In the S. T. & L. A. the link is broken that connects the working class with its exploiters. Leave that link there and the union is not a division of the class-conscious army of the proletariat, battling for emancipation; it is an appendage of the exploiter, a fertile ground for the labor fakir to thrive on.

If the International Bakers' Union has learned from its Weissmann experience, it will forthwith apply for a charter from the S. T. & L. A.; if, with all this experience, it continues on its present basis, fraternizing with the Gomperses and the A. F. of L., such conduct would be all the more reason to continue the fight against it with all the greater vigor.

BRAVE CAPITALISTS.

A number of our "Captains of Industry" met recently to consider the aspect of the pending war with Spain; they sat and talked; and the sum total of their joint efforts was a series of resolutions, in which this passage occurs:

"We do not shrink from the troubles, sacrifices and afflictions which war brings with it, whenever war is peremptorily demanded by the safety or honor of the republic."

So bold a statement, uttered in broad daylight, causes one to inspect more closely the self-sacrificing pillars of patriotism who do not shrink from the

troubles, sacrifices and afflictions that war brings with it, etc. In approaching the investigation, one expects to find men scarred with the marks of the late civil war, at least men who stood the brunt of battle, and, even if they be no "Generals" or so, we feel, in approaching the veil that covers their past to at least find them distinguished in a Department—Department—a Department that has furnished more Generals and such to the square inch than any other.

Prominent among the resolvers we find ex-Gov. Levi P. Morton, Alexander E. Orr, J. Edward Simmons, Roswell P. Flower. Now, who are these gentlemen? What evidence have they ever given of "not shrinking from the troubles, sacrifices, afflictions, etc., of war when the safety of the nation was at stake in '60-'65? Let us see.

Levi P. Morton bravely braved the troubles, afflictions, etc., of war by doing business, failing and starting a bank in New York—beyond the reach of troubles and afflictions.

Roswell P. Flower self-sacrificingly got a substitute, stayed at home selling cheap jewelry, and when he became Governor got a law passed that re-imposed his substitute "troubles and afflictions."

Alexander E. Orr and J. Edward Simmons placed all the real estate they could between themselves and the "troubles, afflictions," etc., of war; to the motto, "This sweet and proper to live for the fatherland," they saw to it that they remained in good health; as health is predicated upon wealth, they gobbled up all of this that they could; and now they are ready to face the "troubles, afflictions," etc., in similar way.

If war breaks out again, we shall have a repetition of the experience of '60-'65; all the trouble, affliction and hardships will be rolled upon the shoulders of the working class; this class it is that will bleed during the war; and this class it is that, after the war, will have to stand the consequences of the industrial stagnation that will follow. During and after the war, the same as before it, the idle capitalist class will swagger with the "honors" and enjoy life on the spoils.

The "History of the Commune," by Lissagaray, put into English by Eleanor Marx Aveling, has appeared in an elegant edition, published by "The International Publishing Co.," 23 Duane street, this city.

Few episodes in the history of the Proletariat have been treated as perversely as the episode of the Paris Commune has been treated by the capitalist class and its writers of history. Lissagaray's "History of the Commune" has long been considered standard upon the subject. Its being in French shut out the bulk of English readers from access to it. This English translation brings it within reach of our American public. It can not avail itself of the opportunity without profit.

The work costs \$3; it is in one volume; address Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. Y.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The London, Eng., "Spectator" denounces and repudiates the Republican form of government, claiming that "The rule of the people is a flat failure."

No doubt of the failure—for the uppers. When the "people" meant the bourgeois, its rule proved not only a flat, but a bloody failure to the feudal lords, witness the fate of Charles I. in England, Louis XVI. and his worthies in France, the representatives of George III. here in America, etc., etc. It is the good old days of the Charles, Louises and Georges that the "Spectator" is sighing after. If it lasts a little longer, its present sighs will be like radiant smiles compared to the groans it will groan when, by the "people," the proletariat will be understood, and when these will have their innings, then the bourgeois or capitalist class will be sent heels over head after the Charleses, Louises, Georges and fraternity.

The cart-before-the-horse reasoning of our "intellectual" ruling classes is well exhibited by the New York "Outlook" in an article in which it seeks to explain the "degeneracy of the negroes in cities." It claims that that proceeds from the laziness of the male negroes; and to prove that it points out that in five cities—Atlanta, Ga.; Baltimore, Md.; Charleston, S. C.; Memphis, Tenn.; and Richmond, Va.—examined upon this head, only one colored man in four was found supporting his family.

In view of the fact that the investigation brought remarkable evidence showing that in all these five cities an excessive number of colored women must daily abandon their children to go out and support the family because the colored husbands could not get work.—In view of this, it is not laziness on the part of the colored men that keeps them home and causes their race to degenerate, but it is the capitalist system that smites with palsy the arms of the colored males in those towns, and that, by providing cheap work for the women, compels them to change places with their husbands.

If the degeneracy of the negro is due

to his "laziness," and his "laziness" is illustrated by his staying at home and minding the children, then the male whites are in the same box in more than one locality in the North, where they, too, have to be the nurse, having no work, and the wife goes to the factory.

For all around, mixed, near-sighted and addle-headed, give us a literary lackey of the capitalist class.

A writer to the New York "Printers' Ink" gives this bit of his experience in this city:

"While crossing Broadway yesterday I noticed a very stylishly dressed young lady a few feet ahead of me. She daintily raised her skirts behind as she endeavored to pick her way through the mud pools, and, though her shoes were high, the action exposed several inches of neat black hose. Manlike, I was about to blush becomingly and look in another direction, when, to my amazement, I saw in white letters on the lady's stocking:

GEND'S
FAST
BLACK.

A horrible suspicion dawned upon me immediately! Was it really intended as an ad? Had the display fiend, in his hunt for 'valuable spaces,' seized upon this medium? If so, what sights might we not see on future muddy days! Fancy walking in the puddle behind a lady whose silken hose bore a hint where to lunch for 25 cents, or an invitation to 'See the great vaudeville show.'

Of course such a medium would find ready employment for plenty of girls; they would be certain of work as long as they had a leg to stand on, and many of them would be able to get there with both feet. There can not be any doubt as to its being an attractive form of advertising from the male point of view, but the trouble is that when the scheme got to be in common use its novelty would cease."

As the woman in this case was in all likelihood white, the experience might serve as a text on which to lecture or sermonize on the "degeneracy of the white."

Just now, the recruiting stations for the army are contributing valuable light upon this subject of degeneration. At the stations opened in Philadelphia astounding disclosures are made. Out of 100 applicants examined on the 9th instant only four could pass the test; while less than 125 out of the thousands that applied, since the war excitement began, were accepted. All the rest were turned away on the ground of mental or physical disability. The low degree of physical and intellectual vigor indicated by this experience may help to point out how extensive the areas of the land are where degeneration is going on; and the universality of this degeneration may serve to indicate the universality of the cause.

Degeneration is indeed the slime that marks the capitalist system—whether its victims be white, black or yellow.

The late S. L. P. elections in Rhode Island involved more than the regular labor issues of the day, as appears from the following in the Johnston, R. I., "Beacon":

"The increase in the property qualification required for Council and Aldermanic electors is but one of the steps being taken to curtail the workers' franchise. The revised constitution is the unanimous report of a commission composed of Democrats and Republicans. Both parties are enemies of the people. Vote 'No' on the constitution. And vote into deep and everlasting oblivion the political parties that stand behind it."

The Chicago, Ill., "Tribune" is frantically trying to run away from the lessons of the late Milwaukee municipal fight. As a Republican paper, the "Tribune" is deadly sore; its party was defeated, badly so, and, besides, it was heavily bled by its "Social Democratic" stool pigeon, which did it no good. To admit just what the lesson of that fight is the "Tribune" is not bold enough for, it seeks for lessons in corners; and this is what it finds, or makes believe it finds:

"The lesson of the Milwaukee elections, as of elections which have been held in the past in this and other cities, is that Republican politicians who run local machines cannot hold Republicans in line when an attempt is made to commit them to the support of policies and candidates they have no faith in."

Now the real lesson is read, not in the column of the returns of either the Republican or the Democratic party. It is read in two columns: the column gives the growing, however small, yet solid and growing, Socialist Labor party returns, and the column that gives the dwindling vote or following of Milwaukee's political riff-raff, once sailing under the flag of "Co-operation," another time under that of "Union Labor," and now under that of "Social Democracy."

That is the lesson: The days for political humbugs are gone. And a good, an encouraging lesson it is.

The San Francisco, Cal., "New Charter" takes a justifiable pleasure in the pain it inflicts upon the capitalist foe by this passage:

"When the advocates of the existing economic and social order are vanquished in argument and driven into a corner by Socialists, and forced as a last resort to vehement denial that things are as bad socially and economically as the Socialists claim, it is cruel to parade before them the statistics so carefully prepared by members of the very class that profit by the present system. It is humiliating to be knocked down by facts prepared by one's friends."

Scandinavians, So. Brooklyn, N. Y.

Scandinavians residing in South Brooklyn, N. Y., and who would be willing to participate in the organization of a Scandinavian South Brooklyn Branch of the S. L. P., are requested to communicate with Comrade C. Petersen, 280 49th street, South Brooklyn, N. Y.

CHILDREN'S COLUMN.

Address all Communications to Herbert Gasoff, 33 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Mass.

[New England was always a fertile ground for freak religions. Just now it is adding to its reputation by growing a number of freak reformers. Each one of them believes himself the centre of the political world, and tries to establish an ideal commonwealth (which shall belong to him alone), in his own backyard.—It is no use to reason with such people. I think a gibe might do something where other arguments fail; moreover, thick-headed people are usually thick-skinned. For this reason I suggest the opening of a column, a "Children's Column."—F. MACDONALD, Stoneham, Mass.]

I have just received a beautiful letter from Eugene V. Nibs. I wish all my boys and girls could write like that, because if they could, "The New Time" would publish what they wrote. "The New Time" is a nice magazine, published for nice little children, by nice men, who know that conditions are bad, and that something must be done—so they DO the people. Gene says that I should subscribe for some of "The New Time" stock, because there are wicked so-called Socialists (and they have no other right to the name than the fact they are nothing else) who say that they take no stock, mentally or financially, in "The New Time."

Gene asks the puzzle-question: "What does the V. in his name stand for?" I don't know for what it stands, but it is in itself an excellent thing for which to stand, and we, as Social Democrats, stand for it every time. Gene also sends the following funny story: "Pay to the order of Henry Gasoff the sum of one hundred dollars for nonsense delivered." The point of the joke is at present in your Uncle Herbert's pocket.

Little Jimmy Scarey, of Haverhill, writes as follows: "I am a little boy, forty-five years old, and yet I am more kinds of a Socialist than any fifty reformers put together. I have just joined the S. D. They said I belonged to the S. L. P., but I didn't. The naughty men tried to frighten me, but I am brave. I have a backbone on me like a mud-turtle."

I am very glad to hear, Jimmy, that you have a backbone like a turtle, but you must be careful. When poultrymen pluck geese they dip them in hot water! When lawyers pluck dupes, they get them in hot water, and I have seen bad boys remove the backbone of a turtle by using the same awful remedy. Keep away from water, Jimmy. Use it only—with a little milk—in your speeches.

It was so nice and hygienic of Jimmy to exchange his Populistic swaddling-cloths for Social Democratic diapers. Thus he makes himself both scientific and sanitary—like a patent nursing bottle. He will also, beyond doubt, cut his teeth during the coming campaign on more large, silvery, full moon dollars.

Further on in his letter Jimmy complains bitterly about a man who told him that it did the S. L. P. no harm for a skate like him to get out, but it did a great deal of harm for a political jelly-fish to stay in. Your Comrade Nibs, the man of feeling, will be sorry for you. The insinuation that the S. D. is narrow because it has hitherto accepted nothing but squid is without foundation. We point with pride to Facing-both-ways G. R. Gordon; to you, James Scarey; to our Communist friends in Boston who practise part of their belief whenever there is any change about; to our national organ, which does not know the difference between political economy and an eggflip; above all, to my wise and witty self-posing, imposing and reposing—a perfect example of a divine-political-heeler.

The next letter was written by Silly Keltner, who occupies in politics the same place a negro's dog does in the canine world, and is always "part this, part that, and partly something else." Silly writes an eloquent letter. Like all my little friends, he is surer than small-pox. What he thinks Socialism is, it isn't; and what he thinks it isn't, it most decidedly is; therefore he deserves the high position he occupies in our organization. We copy part of a speech written with his own tiny hands:

"We are here to-night to discuss an issue which is indeed troubling the heads of many men's brains, and I stand before you to-night to discuss an issue which is paramount to any issue to-day. One will follow me who is more eloquent, and will carry you through the mazes of the social question by avoiding them altogether. It behooves you, and it behooves me, for the best interests of ourselves and our children, to find out what these issues are which trouble society."

There is one issue which disturbs the world to-day, Silly, and that is an issue of words sans sense. We have no more room for the rest of Silly's speech, but we assure our readers that if they ever attended a Social Democratic meeting they never heard anything else.

Little Margaret Haile Andoll writes that she puts out her tongue at every member of the S. L. P. she meets. That is real good, as Margaret has a very long one, and has often practised the art. No, Margaret, we did not publish the lecture delivered before that Lynn Temperance society, as an unmannerly Englishman forstalled us both in thinking and writing on the subject I took from him. In regard to our Comrade Nibs, he is sole proprietor of the S. D., and though any one with a bad reputation may join, no one, excepting the officers, is allowed to get into the society. It is a very good sign if you don't know where you stand, and are scarcely sure of that, as it makes things better, but I fear the members of the S. L. P. do not think it a disgrace to be considered intelligent.

F. MACDONALD,
Ed. Children's Column.

To Jewish Sections and Branches.

Wilshire's leaflet, "Why American Workingmen Should Be Socialists," has been translated into Jewish, and can now be had at \$1.25 per 1,000 or \$1.50, if sent by mail or express. Address all orders to

LABOR NEWS CO.,
64 East 4th street, New York.

Buffalo, N. Y.

Comrade Peter Steenmans, Jr., 52 Guilford street, has been elected agent for THE PEOPLE.

All subscribers in arrears are requested to kindly remit when called upon by the new agent.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.



UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN.

Uncle Sam—Fine news from Rhode Island.

Brother Jonathan—Why fine news?

U. S.—Because the Socialists are making such fine progress.

B. J.—I don't see anything in that to rejoice at.

U. S.—Nothing to rejoice at when the class-conscious workingmen start on a straight march to the conquest of the public powers?

B. J.—To be frank with you, I don't see any beauty in that. The capitalist politicians are a rum lot, no doubt; there is nothing too bad that would not fit them; I admit all that. But, good heavens! are the workingmen, who were elected by the old parties to office so often, any better? They were just as corrupt, and they did not do a thing to improve the condition of the workers. Would you deny that?

U. S.—No, I won't deny that.

B. J.—Then, why do you crow about Rhode Island?

U. S.—Just because you are right in saying that these workingmen were no good.

B. J. looks puzzled.

U. S.—You are puzzled at this statement? You would not be if you understood the difference there is between a class-conscious and a class-unconscious workingman.

B. J.—What of it?

U. S.—A good deal. A class-unconscious workingman does not understand that the capitalist system is a system that does good only to the capitalist class and does harm to the working class.

B. J.—Very well.

U. S.—Such a workingman holds to the capitalist theory that capitalism is eternal and good—

I. J.—Very well.

U. S.—Such a workingman has, however, wants. To satisfy them he must have some wealth. That wealth he can't get; the capitalist system keeps him from it and he does not penetrate the secret. Having wants to satisfy, nothing to satisfy them with, and not seeing that the reason of his distress is the capitalist system which his class can overthrow, he becomes a rascal, and, if elected, being elected on the capitalist platform, he does as bad by the working class as any capitalist politician.

I. J.—Yes, but—

U. S.—But the class-conscious workingman knows that the reason of his misery is the capitalist system, and that system can and will be overthrown. He also knows how to do it. When such a workingman is elected to office, you have not elected simply a belly that has to be filled, a back that has to be clothed, a head that has to be covered; you have elected a high principle incarnated in an intelligent body. Such a man will not be a crook; and when such men hold the majority of the government they will transform society from the pest-hole it is to-day to the paradise it can be.

B. J.—There is, I admit, a good deal in that.

U. S.—That's why Socialists denounce the workingmen who stand for election on the capitalist platform, and they applaud the vote cast for men—workingmen or others—who stand upon the class-conscious platform of the working class.

THE JOYBELLS OF SOCIALISM.

(Written by Peter E. Burrows for THE PEOPLE.)

No little child to work shall sob,
No youthful heart with fear shall throb,
To crown the profit King;
And no weak woman's wasting toil
Shall swell his ill-begotten spoil
When the joy-bells ring.

No trembling toiler forced to wait
Outside the factory's frowning gate—
A hungry, aching thing,
No cold refuse need labor dread;
No honest hand shall crave for bread
When the joy-bells ring.

No slander-laden charity,
No wages seeking agony;
No pauper-poisoned sting,
When, in the new-ris'n social light
The workingman shall stand upright
When the joy-bells ring.

Then, brother, you shall work for me,
And I will gladly work for thee;
And each to each will bring
The harvest of a fenceless band,
The grasping of a swordless hand,
When the joy-bells ring.

Then can I have no cause that's mine,
Nor shall thou any cause all thine,
But as the pulsing spring,
To summer, autumn, winter, we
Shall be to all humanity,
When the joy-bells ring.

Then God Himself will blush to own
A devotee that prays alone;
Then labor's choir shall sing
This—revelation's last, best line:
"Ours is a holier word than 'mine,'"
When the joy-bells ring.

On Comrades, to the noblest life,
Towards the higher peaks have strife,
There we our banner's flag,
On to the good! the better! best!!!
To hopeful work, to fruitful rest,
When the joy-bells ring.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Comrade Max Keller, 1016 Hope street, has been duly appointed agent for THE PEOPLE.

All subscribers are urgently requested to settle for their subscription by him if in arrears. Give him a hand in agitating and gathering new subscribers.

PLAIN WORDS TO BOSTON MACHINISTS, "MONKEY WRENCH" AND OTHERWISE.

Address Delivered by Thomas A. Hickey, Boston, April 3, 1898.

Workingmen:—A famous politician some years ago said "It is not a theory but a condition that confronts us." I might, with truth, say the same to you today about the organization of our craft in America.

The condition that confronts us is this: There are 232,000 mechanics in the United States. There are less than 10,000 organized in three organizations: the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the International Association of Machinists and some Alliances in the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Let us inquire into this condition. Let us find out how it happens that in this age of machinery a craft like the machinists have an organized membership of only 4 per cent. of the whole number. Let us see how it happens that the men who make our mighty machines are hungry and no better off than the lowest of the low.

We must first make ourselves clear on one important point. That is, what is a true labor organization? It is an organization that recognizes the existing class antagonisms. It is an organization that recognizes wages and politics are inseparable questions. It recognizes that labor alone creates all wealth, therefore the capitalist class is not entitled to any share in the product produced by labor. And finally it recognizes that the armor of skill formerly donned by the skilled mechanic has been torn off him by the introduction of labor saving machinery in all trades and by the introduction of a subdivision of labor in ours.

I can proceed to prove that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, based on these principles, is the only correct form of organization in either one of two ways, 1st by taking up each principle singly and analysing it; or 2nd by taking the I. A. M. or A. S. E. principles of organization that are diametrically opposed to ours, and prove them to be fallacious. I will take the latter course. Here are their fundamental principles:

1st.—Wages and politics are separate institutions. Hence "no politics in the union".

2nd.—Capital (meaning the capitalist class) is entitled to its share;

3rd.—There is an aristocracy of labor, hence "no monkey wrench machinists in our organization."

The fundamental principles of new trades unionism are diametrically opposed to the old. The first principle that is expressed in the slogan: "No politics in trades unionism" was born of different conditions than these that confront the workers today. When it was first shouted from the valleys of Lancashire and echoed back from the Cheshire Hills the worker was without political power. He had just secured the blood-bought privilege of organizing. Where he formerly met in cellars and hid his books in the ground, he could now go out at noon-day under God's bright sun and organize to his heart's content, and none could say him nay. Naturally he was jealous of this privilege. The old trades unionist was determined that nothing should stand in the way of a thorough organization of the workers in their respective trades. When the enthusiastic young Irishman with his heart on fire for love of the old land, determined to ring his chapel bells on Sunday, entered the portals of the trades union with the cry of "Repeal" (the repeal of the act of union with Ireland) on his lips, "No politics" was the cry that greeted him. The revolutionary chartist, the verbose free trader, the rabid anti-corn laws agitator, all were silenced. The seed sown during 30 years' struggle for the right to organize had to be reaped.

True, the harvest was not a plentiful one, but it was an advance over previous conditions. The trades were organized as never before. The future indeed seemed bright.

Some of you may say if it was right not to have politics then is it not right now? No, man is a product of his conditions and environments. The road-way of civilization along which the English proletariat was marching had for its sign posts the improved tool of production. For many generations previous these sign posts were few and far between. From the days of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, of the Mary Pale and the Common lands, of Robin Hood and his merry men down to the closing years of the 18th century scarcely a new sign post was erected—whose outstretched arm would point to a higher and a nobler state. Modern production under capitalism had to appear and like a Merlin of old, with its magic wand and hastened the upward climb. (Applause.)

Thus the English worker stepping with lagging stride from feudalism into capitalism, finding himself suddenly swept into the Niagara of modern production, climbs into the trades union raft and nails on to its mast head "No politics in the trades union."

Viewed in this light we see that the first fundamental error of old trades unionism was a natural one, pulling the others in its wake. So much for the origin of those errors, now for their effects. This can best be seen by seeing how the same form of trades unionism has worked in this country.

Up to 1850 we had no labor movement in this country worth speaking about, although as far back as 1827 we find sporadic movements of labor and labor organizations. About the 50's we find a period of capitalistic expansion. The young men of the East were accepting Horace Greeley's advice to "buy an axe, young men, and go west." Cities were springing up in a night, forests were hewn down, canals were dug, railroads built, business was booming in all departments of trade. As a result there arose an enormous demand for skilled mechanics; they came here thousands strong, with the machinist in the lead. And they were machinists in those days, those men that came from the Tyne. No necessity for a "no monkey wrench machinist" order then. They had served seven long years apprenticeship. They took the casting from the foundry and chopped it. They put it in the lathe, the planer, the slotter and drill, aye if necessary they could go to the blacksmith shop. So well they knew their trade. Those machinist selkirks stood

in the shops bright-eyed in their greasy crime, monarchs of all they turnedey. (Applause.)

But how is it to-day? Have you that type of a machinist in the large machine shops of our big city? No, instead you have the specialist, the man who runs one machine, knows only that machine, is not supposed to know any other machine, in fact the boss would not have him if he did know any other machine, because he might—use a vulgarism—get stuck on himself and ask for more wages. (Laughter.) Take the shop I have worked in for years as an example. Here you will see the youth coming in off the Long Island points with the yellow mud of the farms on his shoes and the hayseed in his hair. He becomes a specialist, in two weeks he is running his machine for a starvation wage even if he is a specialist. You must understand, there are specialists and specialists. The difference between the specialist in Materia Medica and the specialist in the machine craft is this: the physician receives 3 times the old time fee, the machinist receives 1/2, the old time wage, (applause), the latter is a wage slave, the former a self-employed.

Such a revolution in the machinists trade should produce a corresponding revolution in the method of organization. But has it done so? No!

Let us now drop this thread for a moment and let me now sketch hurriedly the various forms of organization we have had since the 50's. Then we can come back to the specialist, and, profiting by the mistakes of the past we will know how to proceed with our organization in the future.

When the English trades unionist landed on these shores, he started to organize his union on the lines laid down by his British brothers. Not only did he organize without politics, but he organized the independent union of a craft just as in the old country. In doing this he gave evidence of his utter lack of all knowledge of solidarity. He was proud of his skill. He was proud of his craft. He was proud of himself as a man. His skill was his private property. He had the illusions that a limited amount of private property gives to its possessor. Just as the cockroach capitalist of to-day will have to be sold out by his bigger brother before he learns sense, so in the sweet uses of adversity did the old time pure and simpler have to learn his lesson and endeavor to change with the changing time. When he started his independent union the sunlight of success shone on his business. He went on strike and won. He repeated the operation and won once more. Allan he praised! The old style union was great and the British were his prophets. But a change came over the scene. The men who once marched in the sylvan glades of success now tramped in the shadows of the willow trees of defeat. The reason was not difficult to seek. The economic development of modern production was proceeding with gigantic strides. They formerly went on strike against Mr. Capitalist A, whereupon B, C, D and E did the work of A, and A was forced either to capitulate or go into bankruptcy. So they won their first strikes. But as the capitalist system developed they found that the trust was in process of formation, that instead of a vast army of small capitalists they now had a few big ones. Instead of the Minnow they had the shark. The wooden frame machine shop passed away, instead we had the stone wall factory. Instead of the rocky lothes and the creaky drill presses costing a few hundred dollars, they had the mammoth tools costing in some instance over half a million dollars for one shop. With the development of the tool came defeat. The greater the tool, the greater the boss. A long string of defeats taught them that a change indeed seemed bright.

About this time (the 70's) an organization was springing up in this country that was built on different lines from the old. This was the once famous K of L. They looked at this organization. They saw it had a consolidated system. They thought that the centralized form of the K of L would give them strength, so they tumbled into it over a million strong. But when the K of L was put to the test it miserably failed and this very consolidated principle that they looked to for success turned out to be a centralization of autocracy. They then turned in large numbers into the A. F. of L. You machinists belonging to the A. F. of L. I want to call your attention to this fact that when you went into the A. F. of L. you but made a return to the first worn-out principles. You took a backward step, back to the days of your daddies. Because the A. F. of L. is the old independent trades union of a craft with this very slight difference that it is loosely connected through a national federation and annual banquet. But the autonomous constituencies represented in that federation will not assist one another unless the gain to be received is equal to the risk incurred. You have gone backward instead of onward, and you suffer accordingly. If in this progressive age you do not progress, then sorrow is your lot. The business man who desires to do the best he can for his business, the statesman and the worker who wants to benefit their class, must all seek to keep abreast of the times. Thus a backward step means that instead of having the halo of victory over your head you will have the damp of despair on your brow. (Applause.)

You may ask what was the defect in all those organizations? The Socialist who was within them knew full well. I might say right here that the Socialist has always been the most persistent and successful trades union organizer, and he pointed out then as he does to-day that which was lacking was SOLIDARITY, because fundamental principles were ignored. The old trades unionist had no conception of what solidarity means. Their idea of solidarity was this: You help me to get 3 dollars per day and I will help you. But solidarity is an altogether different thing. Genuine solidarity is this: The recognition of a law of depreciation, working within the capitalist system that has for its effect the

forcing of wages to a lower and still lower level all the time.

What are the symptoms of the law? How can we recognize it? In this way. By realizing that the capitalist can do with the commodity labor-power what he has to purchase what no other purchaser of a commodity can do. He himself can create a surplus. If any man in this audience wants to purchase a hat, a coat, a spittoon or a package of hair pins he cannot himself create a surplus in the spittoon, hat, coat or hair pin market. But watch how the capitalist makes the surplus in the labor market:

First.—He introduces labor saving machinery, then for the one man that is put to work making the machine 5 are displaced.

Then No. 2.—He proceeds to subdivide labor, thus abolishing skill and increasing the output with less men than ever before.

No. 3.—He forms the trusts, fires drummers and advertising agents, closes factories and centralizes business, thus still further stockpiling the labor market. When we realize that the greater the supply of labor and the less the demand, the lower the price of our labor power which is our wages, we can then see how the law of depreciation works. We know why the wages paid in '90 were less than the wages paid in '85 and the wages paid in '95 were less than the wages paid in '90. We know furthermore that the wages paid in 1900 or 1905 will be still lower. Possessing this knowledge, we possess solidarity for the 5 dollar a day electrician, the 1 dollar a day ditch digger, the 2 dollar a day machinist, and the 4 dollar a day watchmaker will organize themselves economically and politically to overthrow the system of society that makes of them merchandise, they will organize to pull themselves off the shelves of the market on which they are placed as merchandise, they are then in a position to realize that the final form of the labor movement is this country, as in all other countries, will be the welding together of the working class into one great political-economic army of emancipation. When you have organized in that manner no longer are your feet on shifting sands; you have then, and not until then, genuine solidarity. (Applause.) It is on that principle of solidarity that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is built.

Having traced the trades union movement through its various phases for the past 40 years, let me now turn our attention to the unions of our craft and see what they are doing. We will first inquire into the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in this country. In the United States and Canada they have some 2,300 members, more or less. After a quarter of a century's existence in this country they have succeeded in organizing exactly 1 per cent. of the trade. Like the A. S. E. of England, they believe in high dues. They believe in "fighting capital with capital." Their members enthusiastically applauded Mr. Mawdsley, fraternal delegate to the Federation Convention in '95 when he said: "Boys, you must do with your commodity (labor) what the capitalist does with his commodity. When you cannot get your price put it on the shelf until you can. To do this you must have capital, so you must fight capital with capital." An American capitalist, Mr. Tom Scott, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, knew a lot more of the labor question nine years earlier, as this incident will show. When a strike broke out on his road in '86 a reporter went to him and said: "What are your prospects, Mr. Scott?" Scott replied: "Oh, we are going to win." "How comes it you are so confident?" asked the reporter. "For this reason," replied Scott: "Do you see that silver dollar? That dollar represents capital. I put that on the shelf. I take it down at the end of six months and it is a dollar still. But if I put the workingman on the shelf for six months, and then take him down, we have a skeleton."

Mr. Scott could tell Mr. Mawdsley a wondrous tale indeed about the utility of fighting capital with capital.

Mr. Mawdsley has had reason to change his mind since then; that is if anything short of a surgical operation could change a pure and simpler mind. (Laughter.) He has seen the greatest trades union in the world go on strike for this. This union, a union of one craft, the A. S. E. of England, held 1,750,000 in its treasury. It received from outside sources over one million and a half more—over three millions of dollars altogether was in its treasury. This was capital indeed. While this capital was piling up the engineers marched to the shop defiant. They had a card up their sleeve for the boss. They were piling up the capital to beat him. But they forgot that while THEY WERE PILING UP THEIR SHILLING HE WAS PILING UP HIS POUNDS. (Applause.) They went on strike thoroughly organized. There was a spirit of discipline and esprit de corps in their ranks worthy of Napoleon's old guard. They were determined to fight to the bitter end. Their household goods might be smashed on the sidewalks on eviction day. Their women might be driven to shame; some of them might seek a bed in the river, but give in they would not even though the grass grew in the streets. With this spirit they went on strike, and for eight long months it lasted. At the end of that time they returned to work beaten, their treasury bankrupt, their organization smashed—they crawled on their knees for the jobs they had left. They fought capital with capital, not knowing that they might as well have gone to hell and fought the devil with brimstone. (Laughter and applause.)

There is something more to be told of that remarkable strike. In America the rank and file of the pure and simpler of English stock, when we speak to them of the corruption of their leaders, say to us: "Oh, yes; that is very true, but they are honest in England." We Socialists knew that when an organization is based on other than clear-cut class lines, corruption must result. We knew it existed in England; we waited for a striking manifestation. We got it in this strike, as the following will show: Sir Christopher Furness, of the Masters' Association, that looked out the engineers, stood as Liberal candidate for the West Riding division of York when the strike was at blood heat. To win the respect of the enemy is a prerequisite of success in every fight. Yet so little respect did this Furness have for the trades unionists of England that he ran for office and asked for the support and votes of the men who were assessed 4 shillings and 6 pence

per week to maintain their fellow workers whom he had locked out. AND HE GOT IT. (Hisses.) Wait a moment. How did he get it? By bribing the labor leader, the labor fakir. He got prominent labor leaders to stump for him, and when Socialists went to speak at a public meeting in the midst of the campaign and point out to these workingmen that it was by virtue of the political power that they placed in Furness's hands that they enabled him to lock out their striking brothers, the leader of the strikers organized a mob, broke up the meeting, and tried to throw the Socialists in the river. Thus we see that the English labor fakir, with one mighty bound, reached a pinnacle of infamy as much above a Gompers as is an obelisk above the ant hill. (Applause.)

In this incident we see mirrored the second error of pure and simpledom. That is "capital is entitled to its share." Believing that, Furness's position, to their mind, was a correct one. "This man is entitled to his share of the wealth created by labor; consequently he is justified in locking out his men, and is further justified in seeking political office, for does not our union tell us that capital is entitled to its share?"

How different is the position of the class-conscious Socialist!

Workingman, you of the I. A. M., have met him. You wondered at his militant bearing; whipped in discussion, you looked on amazed while he thrashed your idols. Bright eyed, broad browed, he stands the teacher, the uplifter of the working class. He knows the lamp of science lights his pathway through life; he knows his "capital"—the bible of the working class. He knows that book is on shelves of every college library in the world, and that but one attempt has been made to refute its scientifically demonstrated theories, an attempt so ludicrously stupid that even the capitalist class will not quote it. What then does "capital" prove that makes the Socialist workingman so self-confident? This: That it is the labor power embodied in the merchandise that gives value to the merchandise. Hence, labor alone creates all wealth. Consequently, capital is entitled to no share in the product alone produced by labor. (Applause.) When it is further shown that by the operation of a law, known as the law of surplus value, the worker is robbed of four-fifths of his product, it becomes the duty of the worker to kick the robbing class overboard, take back the tool of production that has been stolen from him, and institute the Socialist Commonwealth in which he works shall live like a civilized man, and he who does not can starve like a barbarian. (Applause.)

Viewed in this light, the trades union organization that says capital is entitled to its share is a union of ignorance, led by as choice a lot of specimens of the labor crook and knave that ever came down the pike. You may think this language is harsh and not warranted by the facts. Any one who does so I refer him to the New York "Sun," of the second or third Sunday in December last. There he will find a report of a Commission of British capitalists who went to Germany to investigate the industrial and agrarian conditions of Germany. In that report there is this remarkable passage: "To our astonishment we found that there is as much difference between the German and the English workingman in point of intellect as there is between the English workingman and the cannibal."

That statement is God's truth. The German workingman, knowing that capital is not entitled to any share of the product, votes for himself, his family and his class; he belongs to a movement that is lifting up the human race to a height of civilization in the past un-ream of; he belongs to a movement that is keeping the peace of Europe to-day; that is causing the thrones of royalty to totter. A movement that has driven Bismarck, the man of blood and iron, into exile; that has overthrown three ministries in France; a movement that has kicked the tyrant Crispi into the mud gutter. He belongs to a movement that is welding the whole working class of the world into one happy family, the grandest movement of all the ages.

I have now shown you two of the fundamental errors of old trades unionism and their effects. Before I pass to the third, let us mass the facts about the A. S. E. in this country:

First—After twenty years they have organized one per cent. of the machinists in this country.

Second—With a similar form of organization in England, with the whole trade organized, they met a crushing defeat.

Third—it possesses all the errors of old trades unionism.

For these three reasons we are forced to conclude that the A. S. E. in America is merely playing the part of an ambulance on the economic battlefield, coming for the killed and wounded, but as a fighting body such as a trades union should be at the end of the nineteenth century, it can not be thought of for a moment without laughter at its impotency.

There is one other body though, and in analyzing it I shall take up the third great error of pure and simpledom—the error of recognizing an aristocracy of labor.

This error is best shown by looking into the methods of organization believed in by the union in America that believes in it. I refer to the Int. Association of Machinists. This body has made out better than the A. S. E. The A. S. E., after twenty years, organized 1% of the trade; the I. A. M., with a few years less to its credit, has organized 3%. (Laughter.) They at present have about 6,000 members in the United States. A large proportion of this number is in a state of disintegration. They are rapidly nearing the A. S. E. mark of 1%. (Laughter.) And judging by the way the Alliance is going, they will soon have less. (Applause.)

Let us see how the I. A. M. treats machinists. In the hydraulic pump works in South Brooklyn the piecework system prevails. After repeated cuts in their wages, a gang of ten men threw down their tools in disgust and quit, believing that it was better to starve like gentlemen, with fresh air in their lungs, than to starve in the shop's black grime. They then commenced to talk about organizing. One man proposed the I. A. M. A Socialist proposed the S. T. & L. A debate was arranged for. I went representing the Alliance. In the course of the debate the workers were shown that the I. A. M. distinctly declared they "would have no monkey-wrench machinists in our organization." As there

(Continued on Page 4.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

Contrasts and Parallels.

TO THE PEOPLE.—During the last few weeks, Detroit has had a chance to listen in rapid succession to two well known but distinctly different woman speakers from the East. Both spoke at the Social Turner Hall and the Trade Council Hall.

One was Miss E. Goldmann, the New York Anarchist and sensation seeker. She spoke at the Commune celebration of the Central Labor Union. Her talk was directed mainly against the S. L. P., which, for good reasons, is bothering such people greatly. She complained that the S. L. P. compelled people to be considered as traitors, while it was the distinctive beauty of Anarchism that everyone could talk and act as he pleases and still call himself or herself an Anarchist. With considerable nervousness and anxiety, she dodged questions that were put, suppressed others, and finally, feeling herself too closely pressed, she fled. The other was Mrs. Martha Moore Avery, of Boston, who is of the Socialist Labor party. Her language and her subjects were entirely different from those of Miss Goldmann. She was not so much for fear of becoming cornered, and answered all questions asked. Her subjects were, on Sunday, "The evolution of the Class Struggle," "The evolution of Capital and Capitalism." Mrs. Avery is a fine, impressive speaker, and at times becomes forcible. The audience listened attentively. On Wednesday she went to the Trades Council Hall, and reached by train at 10 o'clock. On her way, she was allowed the floor and spoke for about half an hour. At the end of her speech, she introduced or offered a resolution of condolence to the late Mrs. Mary Ann plunk 10 of the Denver Convention. Immediately some fakirs jumped up and protested against the resolution on the ground that it was not a resolution, but a mere statement of fact. Mrs. Avery had the satisfaction of talking to about 150 or 160 delegates on that occasion—a larger number than any within the year.

Of course, the fakirs were not "saved." This sort of victories they themselves now no longer crow over. They justly see looming up behind such "victories," the S. T. & L. A. organization, which is a more serious matter. We may have here a District Alliance to take the place of the rotten C. L. U. and the still more rotten T. & L. Council.

M. MEYER.

Detroit, Mich., April 8.

The War with Spain.

TO THE PEOPLE.—Of all the evils afflicting Cuba, and of all the policies that have been, now are and will be proposed by Cubans, Spaniards or Yankees, each bears the direct stamp of capitalism, which is the cause of the present war. If the people of Cuba, Spain and the United States were engaged in production for use, instead of production for sale, the war would be ended. The war and the product, there could be found no grounds on which to base any of the present complaints or belligerent propositions. But such is not the case.

The Socialists of all countries, the class-conscious workers, have laid down a universal policy that would make the present troubles impossible. Therefore, to the Socialists, justice, the Socialists, without embroiling himself in the hostilities pro or con, does, in the midst of this war, busy himself in promulgating his own policy, at once peaceful, just and adequate, leaving to the people to believe in the capitalist system of society, to fight the bloody battles that its existence gives birth to, battles so barren of good results, that they must continually be fought over again.

Like the last gold and silver campaign, the class-conscious proletariat is safe only when he is entirely outside of it. Let the present struggle call for numbers, which the capitalist class does not possess. Since men can be deceived or brought to do such dangerous work, why not let the matter of not living to enjoy the fruits of victory? The working classes can furnish the numbers, and the class-conscious ones can be made to believe the false pretences of patriotism and humanitarianism, leaving to the capitalist rulers of Spain should explain what right she has in Cuba, and how the inhuman acts of her government are to be reconciled with the "Reign of Righteousness and Humanity" in whose names it invokes the masses to "rally round the flag" and "round its policy, before the clear-minded, class-conscious Spanish workers can come to a better understanding of the Socialist policy of education and peaceful, legal conquest of the public powers for the benefit of all, to engage in fratricidal butchery.

The Cubans, in undergoing the self-inflicted ordeal that they have, will have to explain in what way would they passing from the hands of one warlike master to another, benefit them. The good results of such victory would remain with the man who owned the factories, the cane and tobacco fields.

And, in the United States a satisfactory explanation will have to be made to the clear-minded before they will believe that the class that now has an industrial troika that justifies hundreds of thousands of people in chance to live, will, if successful in their plans of freeing Cuba, make much of an improvement on the Spanish military troika.

We have no doubt but that the starving people, and how natural it is to burn for their redress; how hard it is to see struggling manhood battling against a brutal, long-established, and powerful system, which is the business, while the general public through the capitalists papers' peep-holes, are just getting a glimpse of some of it, and at long range. We admire the genuine courage and the self-sacrifice of some of the present belligerent attitude, but back of it all, through a long, experience and study, we see that all of these are duped and that the policy laid down by the dominant capitalist class will only lead to the gain and glory of the capitalist class and to the loss of the same to all others. We know all about the Socialist teaching of love of religion, family, patriotism, etc.

The reactionist Demo-Pop-Silvercratic leaders only the other day claiming against the Socialists that they were not to be taken for their bray still reverberates in distant corners. The class-conscious workingmen who were duped by those "lovers of the people" may now wonder what the Socialists have to say for themselves when they are asked to support the conditions that bring on the cause to wonder.

The capitalist class needs markets. It needs them because it has or hand more goods than people can buy. It has that because the workers do not receive but a small part of what they produce in wages. Thus a surplus comes about.

To open markets, wars are often needed. The markets thus opened only accrue to the benefit of the capitalist class. Labor remains where it was, as far as wages are concerned, and it has had to fight during the war. In that way Labor is the positive loser.

A fight with Spain for Cuba just now means a fight with the Socialists for the purpose of confirming capitalism both here and in Cuba. No sensible workingman should aid in that; and none will.

ONE LACK ALL.

Folk, Pa., April 9.

A "Landscape View."

TO THE PEOPLE.—Readers of the Socialist Labor party's national organ are aware that Mr. Debs made his debut here in Washington recently; that the S. L. P. Section "tendered him a reception" by handing to every one a copy of the "Landscape View" of the fallacy and mischievousness of his "movement"; that the public press commented quite

extensively upon all this. I now wish to add some details that I think will complete the landscape.

For a week previous to Mr. Debs' coming, someone had industriously spread the report that he was to speak "under the auspices of Section Washington, D. C." It was a very good report, for it was true. Mr. Debs went so far as to send us notice that Mr. Debs would be in Washington at such and such a time, giving us information of the hotel at which he would stop, and when we could see him. In view of this, the Socialist Labor party adopted the resolution that appeared in THE PEOPLE of April 3, upon the publication of which there was much waiting, of which later.

For some time previous to Mr. Debs' coming, Mr. Debs had, through the press and otherwise, given notice that the "full details of the colonization scheme would be made public at the meeting at which Mr. Debs would speak"; and when Debs arrived in town he was interviewed and spoke of the colony's glowing terms. As for instance, how he was going to travel, and how he was going to build towns, villages, schools, a \$50,000 clothing factory, besides other things too numerous to mention. The meeting was opened by Reverend, who acts as an alternately as incantationist at the birth of new parties, prayer-maker at Democratic conventions, Single-tax lecturer, and exhibitor of Congressional resolutions with a little "Socialistic" talk as a "chaser" for the whole. This gentleman, in the first burst of his eloquence, gave us to understand that the Debs movement was not a movement, but "one for all the people," etc., etc.

The meeting, to the surprise of all, passed off without the statement regarding the colonization scheme being made, which appears rather queer when we consider that the speaker was to be dunned with the glitter and show of its immensity. Hinton, who is carrying the details of this magnificent scheme in his head, and who has been called a "business man" and "director of colonies." When not engaged in the free-lunch industry, he alternates between the headquarters of the colored and white "National Union Clubs," which connection exists between the two headquarters at present in doubt,—to be perhaps made plain in a moment.

To show how great is the "business capacity" of these colonizers, it is perhaps in order to state what has passed on various occasions. The "business" man, with a little "Socialistic" holding up any individual he has a corner and describing the beauties of his scheme. To some he states "there is millions in it," to others "it is a good investment," while to others he plays his "Socialistic" features. At the request of Debs, Chas. A. Maidens, manager of the Workingman's Library, spoke on Mr. Hinton to have a talk. Debs then spoke of the "National Union Clubs," having "40,000 acres of coal lands which could be got at a merely nominal figure. Maidens wanted to know of what use coal lands would be to him, and he was waiting for an answer. Maidens also asked the question, "If those coal lands are so valuable, why do not the present owners work them?" The answer he got was, "Gosh asked the same question!"

Again, the colony is to be run for the first five years by the "Socialists." After that, the colonists can run what's left. Anybody who has visited Hinton has come away with the impression that, if Hinton is one of the "able business men" who are going to take charge of the scheme, he must have had his "business ability" away on ice while they visited him.

There has been one peculiar result of Debs' visit to Washington. Jack Hayes and H. B. Martin—the one of Alderman bribing scheme for gas franchises celebrity, the other of Minneapolis fraudulent real estate transaction celebrity—both of whom have been enough to take under "serious consideration"—vide the local press—the action of the Socialists in stating that Debs was not a Socialist. And this is a very curious move, made through his local paper; and the ex-patriated Anarchists also took occasion to mention the fact that they were "pained" at our conduct. This move on the part of the Socialists, French Socialists on the Zola case: "If Dreyfus is proven innocent, Relnach and the other bankers expect to get the benefit." So with the falling of the attacking Debs, those Socialists failed us.

How Debs likes his defenders, he alone knows. The "Debs movement" may be "new," if colonization schemes which small very much of guidance, and which are not "American" if a loose use of economic terms. If a denial of facts as they exist, if a cowardly refusal to stand forth and address the people, if a refusal to stand forth and address the people, it is certainly not a Socialist one nor an honest one. There may have been some reason for the existence of such a movement 50 or 60 years ago, but it is a mistake to say it stands forth as a founded back number, which should be taken off and decently buried before it gets so rank that the Board of Health will have to remove it.

POLITICAL LANDSCAPE.

Washington, D. C., April 5.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

"True Friend, New York.—Watch closely the arguments presented against the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and you will find that they are all based on the same old categories. One category is made up of arguments in bad faith, the other of arguments in good faith. The former proceed from a variety of motives, and are the result of manifestations, they need not be pointed out; they always point out themselves; the latter will invariably be found resting either upon facts or facts, and are the result of an innocent or carelessly incurred by the arguer.

The question of the Alliance must inevitably go through a severe struggle. It is not, as some can tell, to abandon it for the sake of quiet is to leave the groundwork of the Labor Movement in the hands of viciously ignorant, stupid and dishonest elements, who are intent upon abandoning the battle for emancipation and relapse into the olden days conditions, when the party was an affair simply for the celebration of festivals and funerals. The struggle must be carried on with relentless vigor. Ultimate victory is certain to the Alliance men. If we had to deal only with these arguers in bad faith, we could easily defeat them. What, however, makes the problem difficult, is the presence in the field of the false reasoners in good faith. Eventually these will be exposed, but for the present they must be dealt with the Alliance. Consequently they cannot and should not be attacked in the same manner as the arguers in bad faith; there is no need in this case of the same forceful treatment of the arguers in bad faith may be wholly disregarded. This fact presents a hard problem. The reasoners in good faith are forced, by their attitude toward the Alliance, to rank themselves with the arguers in bad faith. How to aim at the reasoners in bad faith blows that will not make reasoners in good faith also bleed, is a question which is difficult to solve. The reasoners in good faith with the respect that their honesty entitles them without thereby dignifying the position of the reasoners in bad faith, such strength to their own power for relief.

In such cases there is nothing to it but a cool head, a good natural disposition that is not too good natured, and without indulging in unreason. The arguers in bad faith, being Cesar bleed. In the end, the correct tactics adopted by the party will prevail. In the meantime, the merry war must be pushed with vigor. Over Mr. Debs' visit to Washington, and that can not be done by either sentimentalism or compromise with wrong. The British pure and simple trade unionists, who are the mainstay of the TROL the economic movement; the S. L. P. MUST BE ITS INSPIRING AND DIRECTING SPIRIT.

J. B. L. Muncie, Ind.—What would THE PEOPLE have done in the "Landscape View" to Reason, and what was reprinted in full the article that pointed out the misleading economic and sociologic statements; manfully admitted its error; and consequently, by its own admission, was a complete and thorough work out of their system the error was had injected into them.

J. W., New York.—We are wholly unable to say where the "large tract of fine land" is located which the April 7th issue of the Chicago "Social Democrat" announces is about to be secured for the "Colony." The "Colonization" of the "Colony" is a very serious matter. When its President, Mr. Hinton, burst forth a few months ago with the news of the "large tract of fine land" that he was dealing for and stated that he was a "business man" and "director of colonies," he was promptly followed by "Engineer and Surveyor's" exposure of the swindle. The same mistake is not likely to be repeated. The "Colony" is a very serious matter, and being exposed, naturally shrinks from being localized lest it be punctured as promptly and effectively as the previous one.

A. L., Bridgeport, Ct.—The letter should not have been written, much less published, incoherent and hysterically distorted. No wonder it was accepted; purpose, to make the cause of Labor ridiculous. The letter is a complete failure. It is a jumble, incoherent and hysterically distorted. No wonder it was accepted; purpose, to make the cause of Labor ridiculous. The letter is a complete failure. It is a jumble, incoherent and hysterically distorted. No wonder it was accepted; purpose, to make the cause of Labor ridiculous. The letter is a complete failure. It is a jumble, incoherent and hysterically distorted. No wonder it was accepted; purpose

PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William St., N. Y.
NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Bandow, 186 Champlain St., Cleveland, O.

National Executive Committee.

Session of April 12 with Comrade Stahl in the chair. The financial report for the week ending April 9 showed receipts to the amount of \$182.05; expenditures, \$172.78; balance, \$9.27.

Keinard reported as to the situation in Milwaukee and the work done during the campaign. Four individual applications were received from Knoxville, Tenn., and the names placed on the roll as members at large. Section Dubois, Pa., reported the expulsion of Thomas Wilson and Thomas Eagan for violating the party's principles at the last election.

Section Birmingham, Ala., reported to have elected the Alabama State Committee, which committee has organized and is ready for work. The secretary was directed to send them instructions, stamps, etc. Harry R. Engel, box 200, Birmingham, Ala., was elected secretary of the State Committee.

A charter was granted to a new Section at Fort Scott, Kansas.

L. A. MALKIEL,
Recording Secretary.

General Agitation Fund.

Previously acknowledged..... \$387.58
John Kinn, Scranton, Pa..... .50
Ch. Rossbach, Grinnell, Iowa..... .50
Section San Antonio, Texas..... 20.00
Indiana State Committee, per Keinard..... 15.00
Illinois State Committee, per Keinard..... 15.00
Ernest Lemmon, Barre, Vt..... .50

Total..... 439.08
HENRY KUHN, Fin. Secy.

A CALL

to the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party.

In view of the approaching National Convention of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, and in accordance with the provisions of the party's constitution under Section 5 of Article IV, the sections of the S. L. P. are hereby called upon to make nominations for one delegate, to represent the Socialist Labor party at the said convention.

The nominations made must be sent to the undersigned no later than Saturday, May 7, 1898, on which day they are closed, and the names presented will be submitted to a general vote. The convention will be held in Philadelphia or Buffalo on July 4 or September 19. Exact date and place will be given before a vote is taken.

By order of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.

HENRY KUHN, Secy.

California.

List of Lectures of Los Angeles:

April 17—Job Harriman, "Political Tactics Essential to Socialism."

April 24—George H. Cramer, "Philosophy of Personal Ability."

May 1—L. D. Biddle, "Economics of Socialism."

May 8—Mrs. Lou Wheat, "Women in Trade."

May 15—O. T. Fellows, "Men and Things."

May 22—George Martin, "Ethics of Socialism."

May 29—Christian Michelsen, "Industrial Slavery."

June 5—Edward Arnaelsteen, "Belgian Socialism."

June 12—Milton Carlson, "Progress in Educational Methods."

June 19—E. Lux, "Economic Conditions."

June 26—A. G. Seibert, "The Labor Movement."

Connecticut.

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—Comrade Hickey will speak here on Friday eve., April 15th, at Pohlman's Hall, 140 Dixwell avenue, and Sunday evening, April 17th, at Vern Hall, 156 Orange street.

HARTFORD, Conn., April 11.—On Sunday evening, April 17th, a discussion will take place on the tactics of the S. L. P. The members of the American Branch will participate in said discussion. The public is also invited to attend.

Massachusetts.

HOLYOKE, April 10.—Section Holyoke, Branch 2, held a well attended meeting to-day at Springdale Turn Hall, and accepted five new members, which, in accordance with a resolution at our last meeting, became subscribers of THE PEOPLE.

The question under debate, "To what extent has labor-displacing machinery been introduced into the paper mills of Holyoke?" received exhaustive treatment by several expert papermakers of the city.

HOLYOKE, Mass., April 10.—To the Sections of Massachusetts: Comrades—The referendum vote as to when the State Convention shall take place resulted in 89 votes for May 14, 163 for May 28, and 96 for July 2. The State Committee therefore decided to convene the convention on Saturday, May 28, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, at Lynn. Particulars, etc., will be made known later. You are therefore requested to elect your delegates in accordance with our laws, viz., one delegate for every 50 members in good standing. Sections, divided into branches, elect their delegates jointly.

M. RUTHER, Secretary.

New York.

A meeting to organize an English-speaking branch of the Socialist Labor party in the 16th Ward of Brooklyn, will take place on Sunday, April 17th, 8 p. m., at Irving Hall, 439 Broadway, Brooklyn. Socialists and sympathizers residing in the above ward are invited to join.

L. ABELSON,
Organizer of Section Greater New York, S. L. P.

A lecture by A. Jonas will be delivered at 399 Grand street, on Friday, April 15, under the auspices of the

Wendell Phillips' Agitating Society. Subject: "Kleine Ursachen grosse Wirkung." Admission, 5 cents. Workingmen, come in your numbers.

NEW YORK, April 4.—The members of the Central Literary and Social Society, at a meeting held on the 21st of March, agreed to join the ranks of the S. L. P. The funds of the society, amounting to \$25.29, were turned over to the Yorkville Agitation Committee of the S. L. P.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.—Lectures and discussions on Political, Social and Economic Questions every Sunday evening, Wurzel's Hall, 315 Washington street, Brooklyn Borough, N. Y. Sunday, April 17—"Profit and Loss." Peter E. Burrows.

Sunday, April 24—"Ferdinand La Salle." James Allmann.

Musical programme preceding and following each lecture.

All lectures begin at 8 p. m. and occupy about 45 minutes. We invite discussion after each lecture, limiting debaters to six minutes. At 9:45 the discussion is ended by the closing remarks of the speaker.

Free Lectures for the Workingmen, to be held at Bohemian National Hall, 321-325 E. 73d street, beginning at 8 o'clock p. m.

April 19—"The Real Relation of Capital and Labor." H. Simpson.

April 26—"The Political Parties in the United States." L. Sahal.

Bohemian National Hall is the finest on the East Side. All Socialists are earnestly requested to attend, also to make a special effort to bring the above series of lectures to the attention of all those who misunderstand the aims of modern progressive militant Socialism.

West Side Districts. Free lectures on Socialism, every 2nd and 4th Sunday, 8 P. M., at Narragansett Hotel, 456 W. 40th street.

Programme of lectures for March and April 1898:

April 24—"The Proletariat." Lecturer, A. S. Brown.

Questions will be answered after the lecture, but must be confined to the subject.

Lectures in German every 1st and 3rd Sunday at the West Side Union Hotel, 342 West 42nd street.

BATAVIA, N. Y., April 10.—On March 31st our Section held an agitation meeting, where Comrade Claude I. Knights, of Buffalo, spoke on "The Primary Election Law, or the Class-Conscious Tactics of the Capitalist Class." All present listened with much interest.

Probably an English branch will be the result of that first open agitation meeting held here.

Rhode Island.

PROVIDENCE, Dec. 27.—The following is the list of lectures to be delivered in Textile Hall, 1955 Westminster street, Olneyville square, during the month.

April 17—"The Way Out." Mr. Jas. Reid.

April 24—"The Trend of Civilization." Mr. John Hurley.

Questions and discussions invited at each meeting. Come and discuss these momentous questions of the day. Admission free.

Washington.

Section Seattle meets every Thursday night and every Sunday at 2:30 p. m., at 1118 3d avenue. Comrades afflicted with the "Klondike Fever" when passing through Seattle will please make a note of it and stop long enough to shake hands and make arrangements for a "hand-out" on their return. The Secretary, Walter Walker, lives at 1426 2d avenue.

Wisconsin.

MILWAUKEE, Dec. 27.—The Section will hold the following series of lectures for the next four months:

APRIL.

Sunday, 17.—"Christianity as preached by Christ, and as it is." By Mr. Riese.

Sunday, 24.—"Socialism vs. Anarchism." By Dr. Knopffingel.

MAY.

Sunday, 1.—"Militarism." By Mr. Gunderman.

Sunday, 8.—"The Bigotry of the 19th Century." By Dr. Knopffingel.

Lectures will commence at 8 p. m. sharp, and will close at 10 p. m. Each lecture will be open to discussion.

The Academy of Social Science.

PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

General Executive Board, S. T. & L. A.

At the last meeting D. De Leon was chairman.

Charter applications were received and granted as follows: Mixed Alliance, Louisville, Ky.; Spread the Light Alliance, New York; Tailors' Beneficial and Protective Union, Washington, D. C.; Proletariat Labor Club, Bridgeport, Conn.; Proletariat Labor Club, Lynn, Mass.

Central Labor Federation, D. A. No. 3, New Bedford, Mass., announced that it had held a meeting and desired necessary information as to the usual procedure of a central body. The request was granted.

Alb. Schmutz, Louisville, Ky., announced success in the organizing of a Mixed Alliance, and that all sorts of trades were represented whose members were enthusiastic for the S. T. & L. A., and would agitate in their respective bodies in its interest. They meet every second Monday in the month.

Progressive Boot and Shoe Workers, Buffalo, N. Y., remitted an appeal in which they stated that a shoe factory had been acquired so that the victimized and unemployed members could be protected. Members of the Section, S. T. & L. A., were asked to contribute a share. The G. E. B., while granting the request, is of the opinion that such a scheme will be a failure as experience in many such undertakings has shown.

Louis Dworachak, Duluth, Minn., gave a history of the movement and stated that several trades, especially the Boiler Makers, were beginning to study the S. T. & L. A. and leaning towards it.

N. Y. Central Labor Federation, D. A. No. 1, announced that the Progressive Rolled Cigarette Makers' Union

reported at the last meeting that "the committee" which reported that its expelled members had been organized by D. A. No. 49 into the Pioneer Cigarette Makers' Alliance, had done so on its own responsibility and had no such instruction from the said union, and that the statement was false.

Organizer T. A. Hickey reported that he had organized a Machinist L. A. at Boston on Sunday, and an L. A. of Garment Workers, and had successfully stamped a fakirs' meeting, some of whom had to catch a train.

D. A. No. 49 entered a protest against the D. A.'s voting on the convention matter on the ground that L. A.'s only are counted on a referendum vote. The secretary stated that at the two previous votes on the convention the D. A.'s had voted, hence a precedent had been established. A discussion of the G. E. B. was called for, and a motion that the D. A.'s have a right to vote on a referendum prevailed.

The vote on the convention was recorded as follows: Buffalo, N. Y., July 4: Mixed Alliance 120, St. Louis, Mo.: Ind. Bakers' Union, Br. 2; N. Y. Cooks & Pastry Cooks; People's Orchestra, Paterson, N. J.; Philadelphia, September 19: Lesters' Union of Greater New York.

It was reported that the Progress Club affiliated with the N. Y. Central Labor Federation, D. A. No. 1, had no charter from the S. T. & L. A., and hence, according to the constitution, could not participate in matters pertaining to the S. T. & L. A. The chair ruled that according to the S. T. & L. A. constitution this was not permissible; that to constitutionally make such a representation possible the D. A. must seek permission of the G. E. B., and even in such cases such non-chartered organization would be prohibited from taking part in the internal business of the S. T. & L. A. An appeal was taken, but action deferred until the next meeting, as the case, being an important one, should be acted upon by the whole Board.

The next meeting will take place Wednesday, April 20, at 64 E. 4th street, and all members are urged to attend punctually 8 P. M.

D. A. No. 1.

(CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF N. Y.)

Delegate George Luck, of the Empire City Lodge of Machinists, was chairman at last Sunday's session of the N. Y. Central Labor Federation, D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A., and Delegate C. Finkelstein, of the Carl Sahn Club, was vice-chairman.

An invitation from the Excelsior Labor Club, L. A. No. 1,563, for its concert and ball on April 16, at 64 East 4th street, was accepted.

The Scand. Soc. Publ. Ass. wrote, saying that the charge made by the Prog. Typo. Union No. 83, that its workmen did not attend the meetings or pay dues was an injustice. They claimed that the workmen fulfill their duty, and that the union should not proceed so hastily in the future. The delegate of the Prog. Typo. Union No. 83 declared that the members employed by said paper had not attended a meeting in six weeks and hence claimed justification. The matter was filed.

Arbitration Committee reported having called upon the proprietors of the Thalia and Windsor Theatres. Both declared that they were opposed to cheap music, experience having shown them that it was no good. They were satisfied with the Carl Sahn Club and would employ them in the future. The report was received.

The Organization Committee reported having organized the "Spread the Light Alliance" last Monday. Other trades are on the list.

A special Grievance Committee, consisting of Delegates S. Danewitch, C. Finkenstadt and J. B. Clayton, was elected.

The Arrangements' Committee for the delegates' festival on May 15 at 64 East 4th street reported that the arrangements were progressing, and that a concert composed of theatrical talent would be followed by a ball.

Ale & Porter Union No. 1 reported voting affirmatively on the proposed amendment. They are making arrangements for the blow-out to be held jointly with the Progress Club on May 29, at Fred. Lohbauer's Bay View Park, Westchester.

Ind. Bakers' Union, Br. 1, reported that they will celebrate their fifth anniversary on May 7 at 1,551 2d avenue. Relative to the members in arrears at the bakeshop of Boss Meisel, they permitted one member to have one week's time to pay up or be suspended. They voted for the amendment.

German Waiters' Union No. 1 reported voting for the amendment. Herman Rubin was elected the delegate to the S. T. & L. A. convention. The union parks are as follows, and progressive organizations and the S. L. P. Assembly districts and branches should make a note of them: Port Wendell, Cosmopolitan Park, Brommer's Union Park, Schuetzen Park, Stummel's Whitestone Pavilion, Fred. Lohbauer's Bay View Park, Westchester, N. Y.

Furriers' Union reported that they will join the parade, but object to be placed away in the rear, as usual. After the parade they will have a festival at 385 Bowery.

Int. Pianomakers' Union will hold a general meeting on April 24 at Eichler's Park, Astoria, L. I.

United Marquette Workers' Union reported voting for Buffalo, N. Y., July 4.

N. Y. Cooks and Pastry Cooks reported accepting three new members and suspending one member. Wendell's Assembly Rooms and Fort Wendell promised to employ their members.

Prog. Rolled Cigarette Makers' Union reported voting in favor of the amendment. Their recent ball was a success. A member named Joseph Simon was expelled for action injurious to the union.

Progress Club will hold an important meeting this Friday at 385 Bowery.

A discussion then ensued relative to the coming convention of the S. T. & L. A. Propositions and amendments to the constitution were offered and discussed. It was resolved to request all chartered unions to present matters of general importance and such appertaining to the constitution in writing for discussion and action.

Boston, Mass.

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THE DAILY PEOPLE

\$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to April 13th 1898

\$4,575.

The following amounts have been paid down to April 13th, 1898, incl.:
Previously acknowledged..... \$283.56
John Robins, City..... 2.00

Total..... \$285.56
Pledges will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE,
184 William St., N. Y.

Plain Words To Boston Machinists.

(Continued from Page 3.)

were 400 "monkey-wrench machinists" in the shop out of 500, organization, as far as Mr. Warner's I. A. M. was concerned, was out of the question. This proportion of machinists of the monkey-wrench type is true of all the large shops in the big cities, and as the step from the monitor lathe (unskilled) to the lathe proper (skilled) is so short that in the event of a strike the unskilled hands would be broken in, so that in three days the shop would be running just the same as if a strike never occurred.

Mr. Warner, walking delegate of the I. A. M., thought safety was the better part of valor; he left the hall amidst the boos and groans of the monkey-wrench machinists that he came to organize. This incident is enough to damn forever in your eyes the I. A. M. It throws such a lurid light on the stupidity and impotency of old trades union methods.

We might close the book here and draw our conclusions, but something more remains to be told. A story that when you have heard it you will be convinced that it is your duty as machinists to kick the I. A. M. overboard altogether—if you have not done so already. At the last convention of the A. F. of Hell it was decided to pick out the Int. Association of Machinists as the body who would strike for the eight-hour day on May 1st. Ever since this convention was held the I. A. M. "Journal" has devoted column after column to a call for "renewed activity in organization," "the eight-hour day must be fought for on May 1st." "We have been chosen to lead in the fight for the eight-hour day," etc.

Now, what are the facts in the case relative to this eight-hour day fight.

First—There will be no strike for eight hours on May 1st.

Second—The officers of the I. A. M. could not call out 500 machinists in the whole United States in the event of a strike.

Third—It is a pure and simple bluff; they (the officers) never did expect to bring out a corporal's guard on May 1st; they are merely after more dues from their un-class-conscious dupes.

Fourth—It shows, if the above statements are correct, that the A. F. of L. in compounding this swindle on the machinists is as great a fake as its constituent body, the I. A. M.

Now, let us see if the above statements are correct.

I claim, first, that there will be no strike, for the following reasons:

First—Only 3% of the trade is organized.

Second—There are no funds in the treasury; all the dues paid in has been eaten up paying fakirs' salaries.

Third—Local officers of the I. A. M. have had indignities put on them for the last two years in single shops, and have been unable to fight except in rare instances, and then they have met with defeat, as the following incidents will show:

First—The Secretary of the Elizabeth (N. J.) local, and other members of the same body, works until 11 p. m. every night—that is 10 hours overtime, and night—that is 10 hours overtime, and only receive single pay 5 hours.

Second—A Republican politician, ex-Alderman Jackson, in Schenectady, is the president of the Schenectady local of the I. A. M. He sees Polish laborers broken in on turret lathes; sees them become lathe hands in a week; sees them work for \$1.50, where the old hands used to get \$3. Yet he dare not kick.

Third—In Albany the Secretary said to me: "We pay our dues, give a blow-out once a year; then we go home at daylight scratching our heads and asking ourselves 'What the devil are we organized for?'"

Fourth—There is no harmony; can't be harmony in such a crazy outfit. Six locals I know in the East would come over to the Alliance.

Such is the I. A. M. Such is the body that the A. F. of L. sets forth as "the organization that shall fight for that great boon for the toilers—the eight-hour day."

What a fraud, what a swindle on the working class. (Applause.) I see the President of the I. A. M. of Boston present. He can have the floor and deny my statements if he can. The 1st of May is 28 days off, so I give you four weeks' notice of the bucco game. Let Mr. Ashe stand up and tell us if it is anything else. And on that day—May 1st—when the class-conscious proletariat of all lands is marching millions strong, demanding the overthrow of capitalism, you will find O'Connell, Sam Gompers and the rest of the fakirs drinking to drown their sorrow at being found out and exposed by the Socialists.

Machinists of Boston, I have finished. I have shown you that the old trades unions have nothing to offer you; that their leaders are frauds; that they are founded on grave errors. Realizing this, I say: PULL OUT FROM THE FAKIRS. Follow the example of Empire City Lodge of New York and the Swedish Machinists of Brooklyn. Strive to keep abreast of the times.

After the meeting closed, Comrade Hickey organized a local of machinists into the S. T. & L. A.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

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HENRY KUHN, Fin. Secy.

Boston, Mass.

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